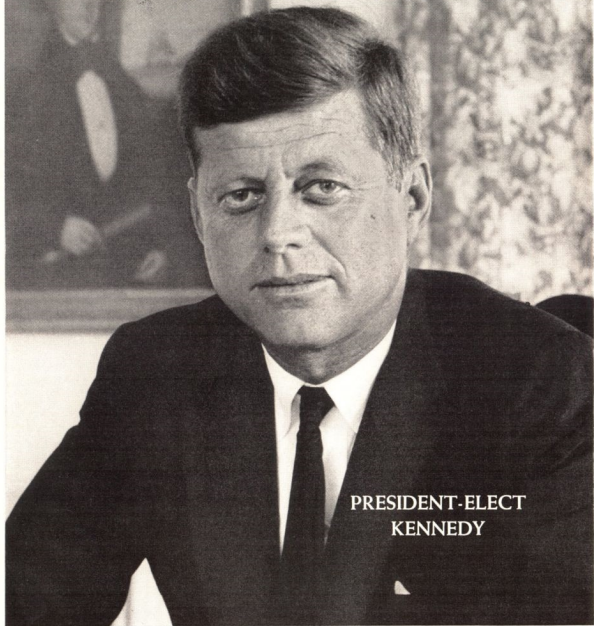


NOVEMBER 16, 1960

ELECTION EXTRA

TIME

THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE



PRESIDENT-ELECT
KENNEDY

ALFRED EISENSTADT—LIFE

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS EDITOR BANKS & ELECTION STAFF

A letter from the PUBLISHER

Bernard M. Auer

WITHIN hours after the pattern of the election returns began to take shape, this special issue—the first extra in TIME's history—went to press. It is the product of weeks of long-range planning and hours of intensive work.

There was no lack of words to choose from. While the editors had available all the reports of major press services and the din of TV and radio, the heart of the reporting came from 124 TIME correspondents who spent the night at key posts in all 50 states—and with each of the presidential and vice-presidential candidates until the hour of decision. Their assignment from Chief of Correspondents Richard Clurman: "Good, live reporting, not only analyses and explanations but eye-and-ear, sights-and-sounds reporting as well."

Their on-the-spot accounts of what happened—and the how and why of it—were transmitted to New York over a complex of private Teletype circuits designed to provide two-way communications between election headquarters at the NEW TIME and LIFE Building in Manhattan and all twelve U.S. bureaus. Correspondents stationed elsewhere phoned directly to special lines in New York, where secretaries manned nine sound-recording devices and transcribed the verbal reports onto paper.

Additional Teletype service from the Associated Press and United Press International enabled TIME's election-night communications network to re-

ceive more than 142,000 printed words an hour. A staff of 28 copy deskmen routed this material to writers and editors all through the night; a force of reference librarians dug out background material. At each candidate's election-night headquarters, TIME had its own special wirephoto arrangements to transmit pictures.

Working under National Affairs Editor Louis Banks, a staff of 35 writers and researchers were set to move in whatever direction the night's fast-breaking news took them. Naturally, the President-elect would be on the cover; but that meant two writers assigned and primed to write cover stories—and inevitably one had no story to write. Other facets of the whole election story—the losers, the Senate, the House, the Governors—were in the hands of writers who spent long hours in advance anticipating the outcome, getting ready to write the significance of the results.

To speed distribution, this issue was printed not only at TIME's five regular U.S. plants (Chicago, Los Angeles, Washington, Philadelphia and Albany) but also in San Francisco and Detroit. Delivery in some areas would be slowed by the fact that U.S. post offices would not deliver mail on the Nov. 11 holiday. Readers of our overseas editions will receive this extra as an insert bound into the Nov. 21 issue, which will appear, as does TIME every week, everywhere in the free world.

TIME

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PUBLISHER

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ADVERTISING DIRECTOR

John McLachlan

ASSISTANT TO THE PUBLISHER

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THE ELECTION

THE NATION

A New Leader

Through the long night and into the next day the U.S. watched the ebb and flow of the political tides until, with an almost imperceptible surge, John Fitzgerald Kennedy was elected the 35th President of the United States.

It was, as Richard Nixon had prophetically promised last summer, the closest election in modern times. In popular vote as of the morning after, the two candidates were only a percentage point apart—and more than half the 600,000 votes that separated them were rolled up by Kennedy in one state, New York. Nixon was actually leading in more than half the states, though Kennedy's close margins in the big states provided the electoral vote power to put him over.

The closeness of the election proved that the pollsters were justified in their pre-election jitters, and the two candidates were right in their decision to campaign down to the ultimate moment of election eve.

No Lament. It was so close that pundits, politicians and the voters themselves would be debating for a long time just what the returns proved, what Kennedy's mandate was, and what might have gone differently.

There was no lament on Nixon's part, even in the numbness of fatigue, other than the sadness written on Pat Nixon's face as Nixon all but conceded defeat. Once it had been thought that if Nixon lost, he would be thrust aside in favor of a Rockefeller or a Goldwater. Instead, he emerged still a potent figure in the Republican Party. There would be many who would say that the TV debates did Nixon the most harm, giving the unknown Kennedy a chance to show himself. There would be Republican post-mortems over where an ounce of extra energy might have tipped the balance. Republicans might well wonder whether defeat came because Dwight Eisenhower had failed to dramatize the real gains of his Administration, or whether one or two more presidential speeches might have made the difference. The Kennedy forces would re-examine their overconfidence in places such as Ohio and Wisconsin and Alaska.

No Precedent. But the closeness of the popular vote could not mask the real measure of Jack Kennedy's victory. He was the first Roman Catholic ever to be elected President, and he achieved this



PRESIDENT-ELECT KENNEDY & FAMILY
The U.S. took him at face value.

Associated Press

without leaving any important scars. He had propelled himself by sheer drive into the Democratic nomination, had rebuilt the old Democratic coalition of Northern big cities and Southern conservatives, outdoing even Franklin Roosevelt in rallying the support of Catholic, Jewish and Negro voters. He had broken all precedent by persuading a nation to make a massive change in its vote when his predecessor's term had, in net, brought both peace and prosperity.

Kennedy had done it all not with any specific program, or even any very specific catalogue of faults. He had done it by dining home the simple message of unease, of things left undone in a world where a slip could be disastrous. But most of all he had done it by the force of his own youthful and confident personality, which seemed to promise freshness and vigor. The U.S. had quite literally taken Jack Kennedy at face value.

He had, in fact, been given a blank check drawn on a sound and thriving nation. He would go into the White House with a Democratic House and Senate, and with a Vice President whose talents lay in handling Congress. The nation that Jack Kennedy had persuaded to endorse him would expect much, would demand much, and, conceivably, would receive much.

THE ELECTION

An Old Combination

Happy days, as Franklin Roosevelt's theme song went, were here again. And they got here again in a way that F.D.R. could well have appreciated: a Democratic candidate, partly by force of personality, partly by piecing back together the power blocs that had been shattered by Republican Dwight Eisenhower, was the U.S.'s President-elect.

Democrat Jack Kennedy won by 1) rolling up huge pluralities in the big cities of the states that counted most, and 2) by holding on to most of the restive but still Democratic South.

Big-City Trend. One by one, the U.S.'s major cities gave Kennedy votes enough to assure victory in key states. Time after time, Richard Nixon inched back in non-metropolitan areas—but rarely by enough. By pre-election estimates, Philadelphia had to go to Kennedy by at least 200,000 for him to win in Pennsylvania; the city went by 326,000. Although Nixon won 52 of Pennsylvania's 67 counties, the state went down the drain for the Republicans. Kennedy carried New York City with 63% of the vote, far more than enough to take New York State's 45 electoral votes. Nixon ran well in outstate Michigan—but

Kennedy grabbed a big lead in Detroit and held on. It was Los Angeles—always considered Nixon's stronghold—that gave Kennedy California.

In states where the metropolitan trend was either slowed or reversed, the results proved how much Kennedy depended on the city vote. New Jersey had been figured as a landslide for Kennedy—largely on the basis of a pre-election estimate of at least a 100,000 Kennedy plurality in Jersey City. But the Hudson County machine fell down on the job—and Kennedy had the scare of his life. Again, Ohio was figured as a Kennedy cinch—but Cleveland fell short of its expected Democratic plurality, and the state went to Nixon.

What happened in the cities to give Kennedy his vast advantage? In many ways it was a reversion to voting habits temporarily obliterated by the personal popularity of Dwight Eisenhower. As in Roosevelt's day, ethnic, racial and religious minorities once again voted heavily Democratic. It was also in the cities that Kennedy's personality caught on most decisively. There were strong indications that Eisenhower, had he started campaigning three weeks before Election Day, might have stemmed the tide: his Cleveland appearance was almost certainly a major factor in saving Ohio for Nixon.

Southern Help. Just as Kennedy won where he had to win in the big industrial states, so he won where he had to win

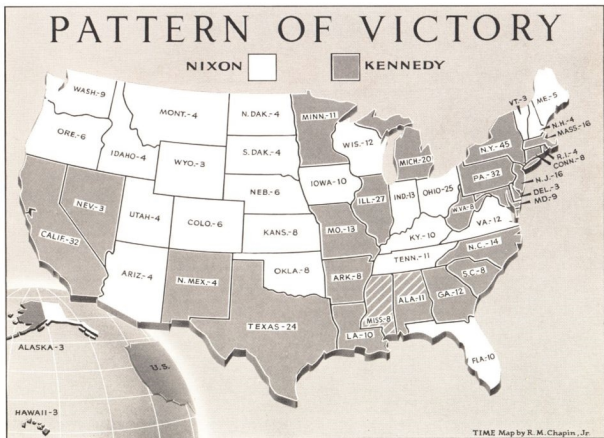
in the South and Southwest. As expected, he lost Florida, Virginia and Oklahoma; in races figured beforehand as tossups, he also lost Kentucky and Tennessee. But, despite the win of an independent electors' ticket in Mississippi, he handily carried Texas and South Carolina, which had been predicted for Nixon. During the campaign, many observers had thought—and said—that Republican Henry Cabot Lodge was a positive asset to his ticket while Democrat Lyndon B. Johnson was a drag on his. Nixon repeatedly stressed Lodge's presence; Kennedy often acted as though he had never heard of Johnson. Yet in the final votes there were few signs that Lodge had helped the Republicans in any specific way—and there was plenty of evidence that Johnson had helped the Democrats overcome otherwise compelling difficulties in the South.

The farm states of the Midwest and beyond reverted to Republican type—almost as though Ezra Taft Benson had never existed. In Kansas and Iowa, Nixon not only won but carried along Republican state candidates to victories over favored Democrats. In the Far West Nixon also did nicely—except in crucial California.

How Much Religion? In Election Year 1960, the great imponderable was the issue of religion. For months to come, the pundits and statisticians will still be analyzing the effects of that issue. But in its general outlines, the answer was clear.

Democrat Kennedy's Catholicism was certainly a factor in his favor in the big cities, where Catholics are most heavily concentrated, though the Catholic vote was not so monolithic as the Kennedys had hoped; e.g., in Wisconsin's traditionally Republican but heavily Catholic Fox River Valley, the tendency was more toward party than faith. At the same time, an anti-Catholic vote may well have been decisive against Kennedy in such states as Kentucky, Tennessee, Oklahoma and Oregon. But in many Protestant areas—both North and South—Kennedy's Catholicism seems not to have worked against him. Kennedy, as New York *Times* man James Reston aptly put it, "appealed to the loyalty of the Catholics and the conscience of the Protestants."

Pointing to the future, the victory of Jack Kennedy taught some campaign lessons that should not be forgotten. After the national conventions, he was generally considered to be trailing. But in his campaign he began aggressively, continued aggressively and finished aggressively. It was this that gave him the edge in the four television debates against Nixon. Republican Nixon had planned his campaign too carefully, with the aim of building up toward a last-minute surge. In the final week of the campaign Nixon almost certainly closed the gap between himself and Kennedy—but it was too late with too little.





O'BRIEN



Walter Bennett
JACKSON



Ormond Gili
BOBBY



SALINGER



O'DONNELL

Row nerve, determination and savvy.

THE PRESIDENCY

Man of the New Frontier (See Cover)

To dramatize his "New Frontier" theme, Campaigner John Kennedy often drew on a favorite anecdote about Benjamin Franklin. As his fellow delegates to the Constitutional Convention rose one by one to sign the newborn document, Franklin observed that for many days he had been unable to decide whether the rosy sun on the painting behind the president's chair was rising or setting. "But now at length," said Franklin, "I have the happiness to know that it is a rising and not a setting sun."

On election morning this week, the rising orange sun flashed on the Boston steeples and rooftops and glanced through the mist on the old streets as John Fitzgerald Kennedy and his expecting wife drove to the stately West End (Congregational) Church in the Sixth Ward to vote.

It was, symbolically, Jack Kennedy's rising sun, heralding the greatest triumph of all for the Kennedy Clan, which first saw the light of political dawn two generations ago in that very city. It was there, in the turn-of-the-century days of boisterous hurrahs and beer-barrel politics, that his two shanty Irish grandfathers ruled: Saloonkeeper Pat Kennedy, the leader of East Boston's First Ward, and a state representative and state senator to boot: John Francis ("Honey Fitz") Fitzgerald, twice the mayor of Boston and a U.S. Congressman, the only man in town who could sing *Sweet Adeline* sober and get away with it. (It was a proud Honey Fitz who at 83 climbed upon a table and danced a merry jig and sang *Sweet Adeline* when his grandson Jack won his first term in the Congress in 1946.)

Jangles & Bristles. It was a long leap from the days of bliss and blame to the days of Ike, Nixon and Lodge, and before the moment of victory Jack Kennedy allowed himself to doubt that he might make it. In the final swing of the campaign, the Kennedy troupe was showing the frazzled edges of fatigue, even unaccustomed confusion. The motorcades in Connecticut and New York were dogged with inefficiency and out-of-kilter sched-

ules; so furious was Kennedy at one point that he stomped about in his Manhattan hotel room, called in his weary aides and chewed them out. "This," he stormed at one man, "is the most blankety-blank day of the entire campaign!" His raw-rubbed nerves jangled all the more with his determination to win, for in his fatigue he had worked up a bitter personal dislike for Richard Nixon. "When I first began this campaign," said he grimly, "I just wanted to beat Nixon. Now I want to save the country from him."

Slowly, as the Election Day sun rose off the horizon, Jack Kennedy's old cool confidence reasserted itself. Returning to his home at Hyannisport, he posed for photographers with Jacqueline and little Caroline, then changed into slacks and a sports shirt and relaxed. Once, he and his brother Bobby went outside and tossed a soccer ball around for a few minutes, though even this momentary fling lacked the old Kennedy flavor of sibling aggressiveness. The rest of the time Bobby kept close to his own home (a stone's throw away from Jack's), where he had set up a

command post bristling with long-distance phone lines and news tickers.

Stocking Feet & Black Cigar. On election night the GHQ swarmed with Kennedys and staffers. All the brothers and sisters—Bobby, Ted, Jean, Eunice and Pat—and their husbands and wives scurried about with news bulletins (Old Joe Kennedy and his wife watched the returns on TV in the "Big House" near by); Brother-in-Law Peter Lawford manned the five wire-association tickers in his stocking feet. Press Aide Pierre Salinger, Chief Adviser Ted Sorensen, Scheduling Coordinator Kenny O'Donnell, Top Organizer Larry O'Brien and Pollster Lou Harris (working feverishly with past election records and a slipstick) analyzed reports from far-flung observers—90 appointed assistants in key precincts all over the nation—who phoned in their findings direct. Bobby kept in touch with Democratic National Committee Chairman Henry ("Scoop") Jackson in Washington over a direct telephone line. He had another private line to Jack's house, but frequently Jack went over to the command post himself to look at the returns. When the news of the big Connecticut victory came over the wires, Jack uttered his favorite exclamation, "Fantastic!", jumped for joy and (though he rarely smokes) lit a big black cigar, while his gleeful sister Eunice warbled *When Irish Eyes Are Smiling*.

As the night wore on, crowds gathered outside the Hyannis National Guard Armory, where carpenters had set up a makeshift platform from which Kennedy would make his nationwide victory speech. Pranksters hoisted a stuffed elephant on a telephone pole; newsmen milled about, waiting. Agents of the U.S. Secret Service, assigned to guard the winning candidate, notified the local police that they would move in when certain victory was assured.

At Bobby's house, Jack Kennedy checked in a few more times to read the reports. His mother came down from the big house to see him. By midnight, the jubilation of local Democratic staffers had subsided somewhat as they realized that the race was still undecided. At a TV set in the early hours of the morning, Kennedy watched Richard Nixon's address to



Walter Bennett
CHIEF ADVISER SORESEN
'Fantastic,' said the boss.



DEXTER FOOTBALLER, 1926



PT BOAT SKIPPER, 1943



WITH "HONEY FITZ," 1947



WEDDING DAY AT NEWPORT, 1953



WITH SENATOR McCLELLAN & BROTHER BOB AT RACKETS HEARINGS, 1957

campaign workers in Los Angeles (see below), decided to follow the Vice President's lead by going to bed without delivering any public speech.

The victory was the answer to the call whose theme Jack Kennedy had uttered with such pounding force in the two months of his campaign. It was a call predicated on the proposition that the heirs to the Eisenhower years lacked the courage and vision to lead the nation through the troubled '60s. It was a call that forced Richard Nixon into a defensive posture from which he never fully recovered—even with the last-minute intervention of President Eisenhower.

Action & Challenge. With characteristic self-certainty that projected through the TV debates to a nation that scarcely knew him, Kennedy shook the U.S. hard. To the Republican claim that U.S. leadership had halted the march of Communism, he answered with the charge that too little had been achieved for the U.S. to feel safe, that cold-war initiative had been lost to the Soviets, and that as a result, U.S. prestige had dropped to low ebb. Against Republicans' warnings that a Democratic victory would bring a new wave of inflation and Government control, he preached a doctrine of strong federal action in the fields of education, economy, farm policy, housing, unemployment and welfare—promising price stability as well.

In terms of the popular vote accorded Kennedy, the U.S. electorate withheld the resounding mandate that it gave Dwight Eisenhower in 1952 and 1956. But because he had stirred sufficient numbers of voters to take him and his New Frontier on trust, Kennedy's challenge had been accepted.

The Risk. He had offered remarkably little in the way of specifics. For a nation grown prosperous and comfortable through the eight Eisenhower years (despite recession signs in a number of places), Kennedy's victory presupposed a new willingness to risk much in the '60s. Kennedy's solution to the multibillion-dollar farm scandal—90% price supports—seemed no better than any answer offered before. His welfare programs, despite his reiterated pledge to retain a sound dollar, carried the threat of unbalanced budgets and more inflation at the same time that they strove to satisfy human needs. His pronouncements on the need for new diplomatic vigor in Western Europe, Africa, Asia and Latin America were based on the assumption of a U.S. lag and his ability to recreate the atmosphere of F.D.R.'s Good Neighbor policy. But the specifics of foreign policy—on Cuba as on Quemoy—had raised many hackles and some doubts.

Despite this vagueness of program, Kennedy won his victory with the strength of personality and tactic. The U.S. had little known or cared about the boyish, tousle-haired Massachusetts Senator until he erupted on his primary campaign last year. With detached fascination they watched him lift the nomination out of the hands of seasoned pros, felt the incredible force of his bandwagon organization as it coursed over the U.S. Over the

months he etched the image of a driving personality, the peculiar quality of his hasty rhetoric that seemed to magnetize though it lacked warmth. Unsmiling for the most part, awkward in gesture, undramatic in tone, he hammered again and again at basically one theme—that the U.S. was caught on dead center in a dynamic age, and he would “get this country moving again.”

That single theme, single-mindedly propelled without change of pace, without subtlety of approach, had apparently plumbled an unsuspected concern in the land. Through the pure force of persuasion, Kennedy had won enough Americans to follow him on his own terms.

The Amalgam. It was this capacity for leadership that had driven Jack Kennedy. First came an amalgam of determination, perseverance and political savvy bred in him from the time of Pat Kennedy and Honey Fitz. To this was added the spirit of family pride and achievement instilled by Joe Kennedy. It was completed, in Jack Kennedy's case, by the realities of war, and by his maturing under the heavy pressures of the campaign.

John Fitzgerald Kennedy would enter office as the youngest President since Teddy Roosevelt and as the first Roman Catholic in the nation's history. All good Democrats—or nearly all—had come to the aid of the party. And who knew but that as the new sun rose on the morning after Election Day in a shabby ward of old Boston, some ancient, misty-eyed Irish poet thought he heard Honey Fitz shuffling a ghostly old-country jig and rasping out the strains of *Sweet Adeline*.

THE VICE-PRESIDENCY

Triple Victory

In the modest little country town of Johnson City, Texas, Voter No. 99 cast his ballot for the straight Democratic ticket. As he did so, he managed a most unusual maneuver: he voted for himself twice. Lyndon Baines Johnson was not only his party's vice-presidential nominee, he was also running to succeed himself as U.S. Senator from Texas. If he nursed any private doubts about either contest, he gave no outward sign. But after he left the polling place, got himself a haircut, and turned up at his Austin headquarters, tenseness took over. The tail of his red sports shirt flopped wildly as he paced the floor until the first returns rolled in.

“Win or lose,” announced his wife, Lady Bird, “we are going back to the ranch tomorrow and he just plain vegetables for a few days.” It was soon apparent that they would be happy in their vegetation. Senator Lyndon Johnson was re-elected handily, and Vice-Presidential Candidate Johnson was swept into office on the national ticket.

Last Gasp. Besides that twofold victory, Lyndon Johnson could find a third reason to rejoice: he had delivered his state to his party. It had not been easy. In nominally Democratic Texas, he could take his re-election to the Senate for

granted.* But that uncommonly proud appendage to the Union had shown its evident displeasure with Johnson for taking second place on the ticket. He had been forced into last-gasp campaigning to bring it back from the brink, and subjected in Dallas to a violent, jeering, hotel-lobby mob bearing posters calling him “Judas” and “Texas Traitor.” These outbursts may have helped him win.

The tall, corn-pone campaigner had proved a powerful addition to the Democratic ticket. He barnstormed effectively across the South, never compromising on civil rights, constantly harping on the religion issue in an effort to reassure doubtful Democrats about Jack Kennedy's Roman Catholicism. In the North, his stinging attacks on Nixon and Eisenhower proved surprisingly popular among

have no doubt that I will specialize in preparedness and space, and also serve the President as a sort of barometer on domestic problems.” With Vice President Johnson as a troubleshooter on Capitol Hill, he explained, President Kennedy can count on congressional cooperation.

THE LOSERS

Early to Bed

The most relaxed Republican in Washington on Nov. 8 seemed to be Dwight D. Eisenhower. His election-eve campaign speech for Richard Nixon was fervent (“I lived with him in hours of intense discussion and thought and soul searching . . .”). But he coughed occasionally, and afterwards remarked cheerfully of his performance: “By golly, I had a hell



Associated Press

LADY BIRD & VICE PRESIDENT-ELECT JOHNSON
At the end, the problem was what to do with victory.

liberal and labor groups that had not been overjoyed by his nomination. Even in states where his name was pointedly omitted from campaign posters, his presence paid off. So warm was Pennsylvania's response to Johnson that Governor David Lawrence, a shrewd and perceptive politician, pleaded for a return visit.

Eyeball to Eyeball. When he met Jack Kennedy in Texas during the waning days of the campaign, he treated his leader to a typical Johnsonian eyeball-to-eyeball conversation. The problem, said Johnson confidently, was not how to win, but what to do with victory. And when he got done talking, he was sure he had his new job all blocked out.

“The Vice President,” said Johnson, “presides over the Senate. Any other duties he has depend on the President—and I'm very close to Jack Kennedy. I

of a time with that cold.” Sprawled comfortably before a TV set, he nodded agreement to Nixon's final appeal speech from Chicago, then declared: “That's his best speech of the whole damn campaign.”

Up before dawn next day, Eisenhower arrived by helicopter at the Barlow Firehouse near his Gettysburg farm so early that he had to wait five minutes for the polls to open at 7 a.m. When asked the inevitable question, Eisenhower pointed to his wristwatch, which bore pictures of his grandchildren at four points around the dial: “That's who I voted for.”

Early that evening Ike dropped into Republican election headquarters at the Sheraton-Park Hotel, chatted with Cabinet members and grinned at cheering first returns from his Republican home state of Kansas. He declared himself “an old war horse who smells the smoke of battle. For the past two weeks I've been trying to tell the American people that a wonderful choice they had, what an easy choice between dedication and experience rather than an attitude of arrogance and

* He may keep his seat (long enough to reorganize the Senate) until he is sworn in at the inauguration. Johnson will then resign; Governor Price Daniel will appoint a successor to serve until a special election.

inexperience." (It was still possible then to influence West Coast voters.) To the nervous party leaders gathered in Lodge's suite at the Sheraton, Eisenhower cracked: "I want to go to Augusta, but [Press Secretary James] Hagerty won't let me until this is all settled."

Eisenhower made plans for a Cabinet meeting next day to discuss the transfer of power to his successor. Then, back at the White House, Ike left Hagerty with two telegrams to each party, covering either eventuality, went calmly to bed at 10:30. Next morning, a White House spokesman reported that the President was "not happy" about the election's outcome, but hours later Dwight Eisenhower sent Jack Kennedy his congratulations.

white convertible, sped off on a mystery trip that took him some 150 miles through sunny Southern California. His destination on the most crucial day of his career: Tijuana, Mexico, where he lunched (enchiladas, tacos and German beer) with Tijuana's mayor, Xicotencatl Leyva Aleman. Nixon stopped by the roadside to play touch football briefly with a group of marines from El Toro Marine Corps Air Station, took time off on the way back to show an aide the San Juan Capistrano Mission, gulp down a pineapple milk shake at a roadside stand,

Machines or Ike? Nixon napped in his suite for most of the afternoon, then settled down to await the results, wearing a lounging robe over his shirt and trousers.

but by 10 p.m. Pacific time, the somber recognition that victory was getting beyond reach hit the Nixon crowd. Almost as if by signal, the ballroom quieted, and the crowd began to drift away, leaving a loyal clique to see out the evening. Two women left in tears.

Challenge of Destiny. There was still enough of a crowd left—swelled by returners hoping to see their candidate—to raise a mighty roar when Dick and Pat Nixon appeared before the TV cameras at 12:17 a.m. Smiling, trying hard to still the crowd, Nixon cautiously conceded that “if the present trend continues, Senator Kennedy will be the next President of the U.S.” He congratulated Kennedy, assured him of “my wholehearted support.” Both parties, said Dick Nixon, should “unite behind our next President in seeing that America does meet the challenge that destiny has placed upon us.” As Nixon talked, Pat, looking gaunt and weary, forced a smile even as she gamely blinked back tears.

Shortly afterward, in Washington, Cabot Lodge appeared in a hall outside his suite to echo exactly Nixon's sentiments—but to indicate clearly that he now considered himself plain Citizen Lodge. The campaign, said Lodge, "had tremendous value for its own sake," and the U.S. should now "close ranks and show a united front before the world."

THE COUNT

Hour-by-Hour

Here, hour by hour (in Eastern Standard Time), is how the ballot boxes told one of the big political stories of the generation:

8 to 9 o'clock, Nixon winged ahead in early-bird returns scattered east of the Rockies (he led 2 to 1 in Kansas alone). But barely had the ABC and CBS electronic brains prematurely predicted a G.O.P. sweep than the Republicans conceded Connecticut by some 90,000—a magic figure that Democrats read as a sure sign of a sweep in the big marathon industrial states. But perhaps some of the Connecticut vote for Kennedy was sheer neighborliness.

Kennedy was wrapping up two-thirds of the early vote in Philadelphia and Chicago—more, it seemed, than he appeared to need to breast the expected rural Republican tides.

In the South, Nixon showed strength along the border, holding slight leads in Tennessee and Kentucky. The Democrats claimed North Carolina and South Carolina—two states that Nixon had been counting in his column—and signs were mounting that Southern Negroes, who had been strong for Ike, were swinging back to the Democrats (in Durham, N.C., one bellwether Negro precinct that went 66% for Ike in 1952 went 66% for Kennedy).

9 to 10. Gulping down mounting returns, network computers giddily upped the odds on Kennedy. But the predictions



PAT & RICHARD NIXON (AT 12:17 A.M.)
"I did the best I can."

"Now I Stand"

"You did the best you can and then you stand," said Richard Milhous Nixon, quoting a sermon he had heard in church on Sunday. Added Nixon: "I did the best I can and now I stand." In that spirit of fatalism—or resignation—Nixon flew home to California on election eve to await the people's judgment, bone-tired after a grueling campaign that had taken him 65,000 miles and into all 50 states. After a midnight rally and parade in Los Angeles, Nixon and wife Pat turned in at the Royal Suite of the Ambassador Hotel, rose after only two hours' sleep for an 18-mile drive to home-town Whittier—and the day of reckoning.

Nixon voted early (at 7:35 a.m. in a green stucco ranch house) so that East Coast afternoon papers would have photographs in time, saw to it that he and Pat emerged from the booths at the same time, smiled at each other for photographers as they handed in their ballots. As his motorcade headed back toward Los Angeles, Nixon eluded reporters by switching en route from his Cadillac to a

He got his news mostly from staff reports, left the TV set turned off, To Old Pro Nixon, the trend was soon all too obvious; long before most of his supporters realized that he was in trouble. While Nixon lieutenants kept up the spirits of 3,000 workers gathered in the ballroom below for a "Nixon-Lodge victory night," Nixon nibbled on sandwiches, sipped champagne. His personal agony was shared with only a few; he did not speak to his mother and family gathered in another suite, or to Running Mate Henry Cabot Lodge, who himself was getting the bad news at a Republican victory rally in Washington's Sheraton-Park Hotel.

As Kennedy's lead piled up, the crowd downstairs cheered more wildly at every Nixon rally, shook the hall with shouts of "We want Nixon." Campaign Chairman Leonard Hall assured all that "this one would be a squeaker." "Who are you going to believe," asked one worker, "those damned lying machines or good old Ike?" Disk Jockey Johnny Grant went to the microphone and bellowed: "Look, this is not a wake. We are not losing, and we are not going to lose." Hope died hard.

only made Nixon Campaign Manager Len Hall huff that the computers ought to be tossed into the junkheap. The election, he claimed, was "a squeaker."

Nixon could indeed take heart from his continuing lead in Tennessee and victory in Florida and Kentucky. First Texas returns were a tossup.

Turning out huge votes, many northern big cities polled mounting Kennedy margins. Jubilant Pennsylvania Democrats saw victory by 300,000 in Philadelphia. In steelmaking Bethlehem, a precinct that had voted for the winner in every 20th-century election went for Kennedy, 576-380, and the news was flashed to Hyannisport by direct telephone wire. Kennedy was building toward a 600,000 lead in Chicago's Cook County—presumably more than enough to sew up the state. New York City was going predictably Democratic. And not even in upstate New York, where Republicans hoped to offset Kennedy's expected city bundle, was the news good for Nixon. After liking Ike in both 1952 and 1956, Syracuse was giving Kennedy an early lead.

Exceptions to the Kennedy good news: Ohio, New Jersey and Michigan were not falling his way as fast as predicted.

10 to 11. With about 21% of the national vote tallied, Kennedy loped ahead by a popular million, and was the leader in states with an electoral-vote count of 365 (to Nixon's 151).

New York's Mayor Robert Wagner promised a million-vote margin for Kennedy in his city; and sure enough, Kennedy was coming close to that (Adlai got a mere 92,000 plurality in 1956). Philadelphia not only smashed Roosevelt's all-time record high of 1936, but suburban Upper Darby voted for a Democratic presidential candidate for the first time in history. Baltimore's decisive plurality for Kennedy gave him Maryland.

But suddenly there were signs of a horse race. Nixon added Virginia and Oklahoma to his Southern count but saw Texas begin to slip away. He showed surprising strength in New Jersey's strongly Democratic and Catholic Hudson County, which put New Jersey in doubt, and in Colorado's Denver County, Nixon led 5 to 3. In vote-heavy Ohio, Nixon got big help from Columbus, Dayton and the rural areas to gain a surprising lead; Kennedy forces put their trust in heavy labor areas and Catholic Cuyahoga County (Cleveland) still to be counted. In Michigan and Wisconsin, Kennedy limped weakly ahead. In Illinois he was well ahead—but far behind the huge majority piled up by Governor-elect Otto Kerner.

11 to 12. A confident smile creasing his broad face, G.O.P. National Chairman Thurston B. Morton took to the air to insist that Nixon had just begun to fight. "It's going to be all right," said Morton. "We've got this thing, and I know we're going to celebrate if we have to carry on here until the dawn kills the moon." But the dawn was coming up in the East like thunder for Kennedy. The pro-Nixon New York *Daily News* (which had called Kennedy the "British-tailored nominee of the



IKE CAMPAIGNING
An old war horse smelled smoke.

America Stinks Party") was already whirling out early editions giving the race to Kennedy. Down South, where Kennedy's Catholicism was proving to be no crippling handicap, the Democrats chalked up Texas. Michigan's U.A.W.-dominated Wayne County was going 72% for Kennedy. Kennedy's one big blow came when Ohio slipped to Nixon.

The early word from California gave Nixon his home town of Whittier by 2 to 1. But the rest of Southern California news seemed Sunkist for Kennedy: he was even taking Los Angeles by 3 to 2. Cranking up its computer, CBS decided that Kennedy was surpassing Stevenson's



LODGE RETIRING
And then dawn killed the moon.

vote in 1956 by 12% in industrial areas, 4% among farmers, 8% in the suburbs and a whopping 12% among Negroes. Climbing by the hour, Kennedy's popular-vote margin soared to a high-point of nearly 2,000,000.

Midnight to 1. Henry Cabot Lodge marched into Washington's Sheraton-Park Hotel Republican headquarters with an ominous pronouncement: "I think that anything that is to be said now should come from Dick."

Back East, Adlai Stevenson, who had agonized through the same thing twice before, came onto the TV screens to declare his delight over the apparent Democratic sweep. Then he added wistfully: "My own future remains in doubt."

Fresh returns from the West kept alive the G.O.P. spark of hope. Nixon stormed into the lead in Oregon and Washington. The Mormons of Utah, the potato and sugar beet farmers of Idaho, the Gold-water conservatives of Arizona—all voted for Nixon. Dick Nixon turned over predictions by taking Colorado. He was narrowing Kennedy's lead in California. For the first time in any presidential election, Hawaii flashed in its aloha—with Nixon on the top end of a seesaw.

In the Midwest, Nixon picked up Iowa's ten electoral votes, as expected. He was on Kennedy's heels in Michigan and out in front in Wisconsin. Jack Kennedy seemed to be pulling Minnesota out of the fire, helped by a 60% plurality in St. Paul. Far back in the East, Kennedy nailed down little Delaware. His electoral-vote count rose to a sure 241 as he captured Louisiana and West Virginia.

1 to 2. With majestic mien the New York *Times* proclaimed Kennedy's election. An answering echo came from California where Kennedy was maintaining a steady 50,000 lead; the pro-Nixon San Francisco *Examiner* announced that Kennedy had carried the state and the nation. Even so, the result still was not official, and Nixon was conceding nothing. Ohio's Democratic Governor Mike Di Salle, who went hook, line and sinker for Kennedy, still could not believe that Kennedy (and perhaps Di Salle) was sunk in Ohio. Kennedy rallied to take the lead in the fight for Minnesota's 11 electoral votes—enough to put him over the top according to most calculations, come what might in California. But then Kennedy's margin began to fade in Illinois as downstate votes came in. Nixon refused to quit.

2 to 3. New York's Senator Kenneth Keating became the first big Republican to concede to Kennedy, wired him congratulations. In Moscow the Soviet radio announced a Kennedy victory.

But doubt still gnawed at top Democrats in Washington. "Scoop" Jackson said the race was narrowing. The Midwest held the balance of power, and the balance was seesawing. Wisconsin fell to Nixon, as the Democrats' disappointingly small turnout in Milwaukee failed to overcome the outstate G.O.P. avalanche. Kennedy's Illinois lead dwindled further. Minnesota turned into a no man's state. Kennedy was still in front by 14% in

Michigan, but Democrats declined to proclaim victory until the final third of the vote was counted.

With Kennedy only half a dozen votes away from victory, the small states of the nation took on great importance. Kennedy won Montana's four electoral votes. He pulled ahead slightly in Hawaii. Down South, the Democratic rebels who had cast their votes for independent electors conjured up visions of becoming kingmakers. Among them, Mississippi, Alabama and Georgia had 31 electors—only five for Kennedy, and 26 "unpledged." The predawn dream: perhaps neither candidate would get a majority, and the Deep South could throw the election into the House of Representatives, where each state would have one vote, and the South could swing to the candidate who offered the softest deal on civil rights.

3 to 4. When Nevada finally went Democratic, Kennedy was within a handful of the necessary 269 electoral votes—but that handful was turning out to be a tough one to grab. What was more, predictions of a Kennedy victory assumed that he would win Illinois. But in Illinois, farmers were slicing down the fat lead that he had piled up in Chicago. In pivotal Minnesota, Kennedy's lead was down to a bare 30,000. With these developments obviously in mind, Vice President Nixon refused to make a flat concession when he went off to bed. Kennedy announced through Press Aide Pierre Salinger that he, too, was off to bed. That left a bleary-eyed nation sipping coffee by its television sets and noting, as the hour drew to a close, that Kennedy's popular vote lead was down to 1,000,000.

4 to 5. Kennedy's popular plurality slid below the million mark for the first time in hours. NBC figured that Kennedy was only one electoral vote short of the 269 needed to win. It was so close that the nation could just possibly go the way Alaska went—and Alaska, with 25% of the votes counted, was 7,383 for Kennedy, 7,007 for Nixon. California vote counters struggled with map-sized paper ballots and warned that the final score might not be posted for another 24 hours. The TV pundits began to talk of 1916, when the U.S. awakened to the startling news that California had elected Woodrow Wilson.

5 to 6. When Associated Press gave Michigan to Kennedy, CBS boosted the Senator's electoral-vote total to 285, more than enough to get him into the White House. But CBS was assuming that Illinois' 27 votes would go to Kennedy, and, hour by hour, his lead there was dwindling away until it stood at a mere 46,000. If Kennedy lost Illinois, his last big chance to clinch the election was California. But even there, with half of the state still to be tallied, Kennedy was just plugging along in front by 80,000. Dawn was beginning to break over Manhattan when the experts, who earlier in the night had been blithely predicting a Kennedy landslide, were cautiously agreeing that the Senator should win—in a squeaker.

6 to 7. Throughout the land, the black banner lines on the morning editions all



Richard Meek

MAINE'S SMITH
With a ladylike compliment.

read: KENNEDY! At 7 o'clock, John Kennedy crossed the 30 million mark—some 750,000 votes in the lead. Kennedy had 50.71% of the popular vote, Nixon 49.29%. It was the closest election since 1888, when Democrat Grover Cleveland edged Republican Benjamin Harrison in the popular vote but lost to him in the Electoral College.

7 to 8. By light of a new day, the Kennedy drive began to creep forward again. With some 90% of the votes counted, Kennedy led Nixon by just 770,000, but he led where it counted. Illinois was in doubt, but Kennedy seemed safely ahead in key California. Finally, even the most cautious proclaimed John Fitzgerald Kennedy the President-elect.



Walter Bennett

NEW MEXICO'S ANDERSON
Against the tide.

THE SENATE

The Mixture As Before

Even if Richard Nixon had won by a landslide, the Democrats could not have lost control of the Senate in 1961. To win a Senate majority, the Republicans would have been obliged to take 28 of the 34 seats at stake this year, including several in the South. So far as the Senate was concerned, the people did not think it was time for a change.

What the voters wanted was the mixture as before. It was a good year for senatorial incumbents. The only sitting candidate turned out was Delaware's J. Allen Frear Jr., a conservative Democrat. In half a dozen states, voters split their tickets with careful intent to return the familiar faces, whether Republican or Democratic. The South predictably held firm for its ten Democratic senatorial candidates. The Republicans seemed likely to increase their Senate strength slightly, but only a handful of noteworthy newcomers will be mingling with the old pros (see box) in the new Senate. Among the winners:

¶ In Colorado, Republican Incumbent Gordon Allott rode Nixon's coattails to a second-term victory over Trumanish Democrat (and lieutenant governor) Robert Lee Knous.

¶ In the first Senate race between two women in U.S. history, Margaret Chase Smith, Maine's ranking vote-collector, easily defeated Lucia Marie Cormier, ex-schoolteacher and Democratic leader of the state legislature. Majestically ignoring Democrat Cormier after paying her one ladylike compliment early in the campaign, Republican Smith relied on the record she has embroidered since 1940, stitched an impressive 5-3 majority.

¶ In Delaware, Republican Governor J. Caleb Boggs pulled off one of the rare upsets of the 1960 Senate races by unseating conservative Democrat J. Allen Frear Jr., 57, a veteran of two undistinguished Senate terms. The only top-of-the-ticket Republican to win in Delaware, Boggs has long wooed Delaware's labor vote by urging establishment of a state department of labor, as a result probably came away with more union votes than Businessman Frear.

¶ Idaho Republican Henry Dworshak, locally renowned for his firm stand against foreign aid, defeated Democrat Robert McLaughlin, a lawyer from Mountain Home.

¶ In Illinois, white-thatched New Deal Democrat Paul Douglas, 68, bettered his 1954 majority, overwhelmed Republican Lawyer Samuel Wiltver to win his third term in the Senate.

¶ In New Mexico, despite a presidential vote that seasawed back and forth, Democrat Clinton P. Anderson, 65, onetime Secretary of Agriculture under Harry Truman, handily beat out conservative Republican William Colwes to win his third term in the Senate.

¶ Incumbent John Sherman Cooper, Kentucky's courtly Mr. Republican, won a thunderous victory over Democrat Keen



NEUBERGER



MILLER



HUMPHREY



COOPER



CASE



BOGGS

FACES IN THE NEW SENATE

Oregon. Succeeding her late husband, Dick Neuberger, Democrat Maurine B. Neuberger, 52, seems sure to follow his ultra-liberal line in the Senate. A phenomenal vote getter in her own right, trim, athletic Maurine spent two terms in the state legislature, is remembered with particular affection by Oregon housewives for overturning a state ban on colored margarine. Outspoken, she once advocated a woman President because "women are nicer than men, mostly."

Iowa. In his race for the Senate, Jack R. Miller, 44, got off to a bad start: since no Republican primary candidate won the required majority, the party's nomination had to be made by the state convention. But on the hustings, Roman Catholic Miller showed himself a fluent speaker and shrewd public relations man. An Air Force Reserve colonel trained in the Plans Section of SAC, Miller is a specialist in farm tax law, a tireless advocate of tax reform and economy in government.

Minnesota. Jaunty, fast-talking Hubert Humphrey, 49, is a child of the South Dakota dust bowl who cannot forget that New Deal relief programs saved the customers who saved his family's drugstore. Mastermind of Minnesota's potent Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party, erudite ex-Professor (political science) Humphrey first talked his way to the Senate in 1948. He can be counted on to lead his crusade for true-blue liberalism come recession, prosperity or the millennium.

Kentucky. A onetime ambassador to India and U.S. delegate to the U.N., Republican John Sherman Cooper, 59, has his stronghold in the eastern Kentucky of miners, moonshiners and McCoys. After an Ivy League education (Yale, Harvard Law), he spent 25 years paying off debts left by his politician father. In and out of the Senate since 1946, strapping Baptist Cooper is one of his party's most distinguished liberals, an ardent supporter of foreign aid and civil rights.

New Jersey. In 14 years in Congress, six of them in the Senate, spare, able Clifford P. Case, 56, has shown himself one of the most independent of Republican liberals. The scholarly son of a Dutch Reformed minister, Case is no glad-hander, tends to neglect his political fences, and has repeatedly driven conservative New Jersey Republicans into open revolt by his egghead policies. Case's re-election reinforces his shaky position as his state's top Republican leader.

Delaware. Though he lost his first election at 21, middle-of-the-road Republican Caleb Boggs, 51, has never lost one since and as Delaware's Governor managed to coexist in cozy comfort with an overwhelmingly Democratic legislature. A campaign manager's dream—he comes from a family of small farmers, won five battle stars and the Croix de Guerre in World War II combat—affable Lawyer Boggs is said to know more Delawareans by first name than any other man in the state.

Massachusetts. With his Early American homeliness and diffident Yankee drawl, blueblooded Leverett Saltonstall, 68, strikes any New Englander as being "as comfortable as an old shoe." Carefully eschewing brilliance, Republican Saltonstall in his 16 years in the Senate has won the admiration even of Massachusetts Democrats for his solid performance on the Armed Services and Small Business Committees and for his unflinching drive to bring new industry into his state.

Missouri. A small-town American prototype, moderate Democrat Edward V. Long, 52, is a Baptist deacon who has branched out from a law practice into running two banks, plus several loan and life-insurance companies. In the Senate, stumpy, soft-spoken Ed Long will draw on a generation of political experience (as state senator and lieutenant governor) and the knowledge of foreign affairs that he claims as a widely traveled past director of Rotary International.

Michigan. Massachusetts-born Patrick V. ("Senator Pat") McNamara, 66, is a labor man all the way: as onetime president of the Detroit Pipefitters Union, Democrat McNamara commands the loyalty of old line A.F.L. leaders and his ultra-liberal voting record in the Senate since 1955 has won him the plaudits of Walter Reuther's United Auto Workers. Operated on for cancer last July, he remains a back-thumping extravert, admired for his "heart" rather than his dreary speeches.

South Dakota. Cherubic, pipe-puffing Karl Mundt, 66, has spent 22 years on Capitol Hill, twelve of them in the Senate. Starting off as a small-town schoolteacher and ardent fisherman, Mundt tried his hand as a college speech instructor, farmer and insurance agent, broke into politics as a member of South Dakota's Game and Fish Commission. A prewar isolationist turned internationalist, he bears right domestically—except on farm policy, where he favors liberal supporters.

Rhode Island. Socialite Claiborne Pell, 41, a wealthy investment banker, is a newcomer to active politics, although his family has long been politically prominent (Great-Great-Granduncle George Dallas was James K. Polk's Vice President). A Princeton honor graduate and a onetime diplomat in Czechoslovakia and Italy, Democrat Pell speaks four languages, advocates a down-the-line program of liberal legislation from minimum wages to the Forand bill.

Wyoming. A hard-driving Cheyenne lawyer, Keith Thomson, 41, commanded an infantry battalion in Italy during World War II, will bivouac naturally with Barry Goldwater's conservative camp in the Senate. As Wyoming's lone Congressman since 1954, Republican Thomson plumped for Army reform, favored calling older reservists to active duty and campaigned against "welfare statism as opposed to free enterprise." He opposes aid to education, public housing—any kind of federal largesse.

SALTONSTALL

LONG

MCNAMARA

MUNDT

PELL

THOMSON



Johnson, who came out of the business world (vice president of Reynolds Metals) to run on a record logged during a single term as state Governor 17 years ago.

¶ Running on a record as flat as the prairies, Kansas' Incumbent Andrew Schoepel beat Democratic Challenger Frank This, 69, to win a third term.

¶ In Massachusetts, riding out a Kennedy landslide, Republican Leverett Saltonstall fended off Springfield's youthful (35) Mayor Thomas J. O'Connor Jr. to win his third full Senate term. Campaigning in his usual low-key style ("I'm gonna be dahn brief"), the durable "Salty" unashamedly clung to Democrat Kennedy's coattails with a campaign film featuring shots of himself and Kennedy working together in the Senate.

¶ In Minnesota, after the worst scare of his 17-year political career, Fair Dealing Democrat Hubert Humphrey won a third Senate term by trouncing Minneapolis Mayor P. (for Paul) Kenneth Peterson, 45. After watching his once-commanding lead in the polls whittled almost to the vanishing point, Humphrey recouped in the last days of the campaign by delivering as many as 86 speeches in one week.

¶ Deriding Republican complacency ("No time to brag my Daddy is stronger than your Daddy"), Democratic Incumbent Edward V. Long sailed to a predictable victory in Missouri over Republican Lon Hocker, 50, a St. Louis lawyer.

¶ Nebraska Republican Carl T. Curtis, 55, a consistent opponent of Eisenhower's modern Republicanism, won a second term at the expense of little-known Lawyer Robert Conrad, 38.

¶ New Hampshire's Styles Bridges, 62, the backroom dean of Capitol Hill conservatism, beat out Democrat Herbert Hill, a mild-mannered Dartmouth professor, for a fifth term.

¶ New Jersey's liberal Republican Clifford P. Case wooed party conservatives, won independents of both parties by pointing to his own first-term record for independence in Washington. This smooth combination scuttled Democratic Contender Thorn Lord, 54, a reluctant, shy candidate whose egghead appeal sailed over the heads of most Jerseyites.

¶ In three historically Democratic states, the party incumbents bucked local Nixon teides. But Tennessee's homespun Estes Kefauver, Oklahoma's oil-rich Robert S. Kerr and Virginia's crack filibusterer, Wilis Robertson, all easily knocked down Republican straw men to return to Capitol Hill.

¶ In heavily Catholic (58%) Rhode Island, Democrat Claiborne Pell, an Episcopalian, ran well ahead of Jack Kennedy to beat out his Catholic opponent, Raoul C. Archambault Jr., by a record margin for the seat of retiring Democrat Theodore Francis Green, 93.

¶ Easy and early winner in hard-pressed West Virginia: welfare-promising Democratic Incumbent Jennings Randolph, 58. When handsome young (38) Cecil H. Underwood, the state's first Republican Governor in 24 years, chose to stay loyal to



MANHATTAN'S LINDSAY
Next stop, city hall?

Ike's two vetoes of aid-to-depressed-area bills ("I am proud to defend the Eisenhower record"), he chose certain disaster.

¶ In Oregon, Maurine Neuberger, widow of Senator Richard Neuberger, became the first woman Democrat elected to the Senate since Arkansas' Hattie Caraway made it in 1932. Mrs. Neuberger ran well ahead of Jack Kennedy, easily defeated Republican Publisher Elmo Smith, 51.

¶ In pivotal Michigan, with the aid of a massive Detroit vote, Democratic Stalwart Patrick McNamara sailed into a second Senate term despite a free-swinging, free-spending campaign by Multimillionaire Republican Right-Winger Alvin M. Bentley, 42.

¶ In Wyoming, bidding for the job of retiring Democrat Joseph C. O'Mahoney, 76, Republican Keith Thomson, 41, ran comfortably in front of his O'Mahoney-endorsed opponent, Raymond B. Whitaker, also 41, picked up a Senate seat for his party.

¶ In pro-Nixon Iowa, Republican State Senator Jack Miller gave the lie to advance predictions of widespread ticket splitting by his surprise victory over popular Democratic Governor Herschel Loveless, 49. Hanging firmly onto the Nixon coattails, Newcomer Miller clinched the seat vacated by retiring Republican Senator Thomas Martin with an aggressive campaign in which he used the time-honored device of dramatizing Loveless' refusal to argue the issues with him by staging debates with an empty chair.

¶ By the slenderest of margins, South Dakotans handed Republican Karl Mundt, 60, a political prize they have not bestowed in 30 years: a third term in the Senate. Mundt encountered stern competition from onetime History Professor (Dakota Wesleyan University) and two-time Congressman George McGovern, 38, who banked on rural discontent this year to unseat Mundt.

THE HOUSE

Small Change

President Kennedy will have a solid Democratic phalanx in the House of Representatives. The old Democratic majority (283-154) may have slipped slightly by the time the last absentee ballots are counted, but it will still be wide enough to assure Speaker Sam Rayburn (unopposed in his 25th House campaign) of another two years as the presiding officer of the lower house. Republicans lost a few seats in New Jersey and New York, held their inroads in the South, reclaimed five seats in Indiana, racked up a net gain of at least 15 seats. But the House in 1961 will look very much as it did in 1960. Among the noteworthy races:

¶ In Indiana, Minority Leader Charlie Halleck comfortably won a 14th term, overcoming the massive resistance of big labor unions which backed Democrat George H. Bowers.

¶ In Massachusetts, longtime Republican Leader (and former Speaker) Joe Martin, 76, carried his 14th District after running behind Democrat Edward F. Doolan for most of election night.

¶ Nevada's former Senator George W. ("Molly") Malone, of the dinosaur wing of the G.O.P., failed in a political comeback. Still Nevada's lone Congressman: Democrat Walter Baring of Reno.

¶ The 1958 triumph of Representative William H. Meyer, Vermont's first Democratic Representative in 106 years, was short. After just one term in the House, where he was marked for his pacifist speeches, he was defeated by Republican Governor Robert Stafford by 24,000 votes.

¶ New York's 15-denier "Silk Stocking District," along Manhattan's East Side, returned young (38), personable Republican John V. Lindsay to the House for a second term and propelled him into the limelight as a likely G.O.P. candidate for mayor of New York in 1961.

¶ In Arizona, where Republican Barry Goldwater strides with giant steps, liberal Democrat Stewart Udall kept his seat against a Goldwater-backed challenger.

¶ In Missouri, Representative Charlie Brown, who managed Stu Symington's unsuccessful campaign for the Democratic presidential nomination, had no better luck with his own campaign for re-election. The winner: Republican Durward G. Hall, a handsome, conservative surgeon who, in the Ozark phrase, is a "gravel bar speaker."

¶ California Democrats Dalip S. Saund, the only Hindu in Congress (he was born in Amritsar, India, is a naturalized American), and Jimmy Roosevelt were both re-elected. Rudd Brown, granddaughter of William Jennings Bryan, failed in her second attempt to unseat Republican Edger W. Hiestand.

¶ Pennsylvania's Bill Scranton, bearer of an illustrious Republican surname and one of the brighter faces in the new Congress, had to cut through the anthracite of heavy Democratic registration and unemployment in the Tenth District to beat Incumbent Stanley A. Prokop.

THE STATES

The Governors

Ever since 1954, Democrats have been tenants in a solid majority of the nation's statehouses. Last week, with 27 U.S. governorships—14 held by Democrats—at stake, the Democratic trend continued. With some races still in doubt, Democratic challengers replaced Republicans in six states, lost only three of their own state houses (Massachusetts, Iowa, Kansas) to the G.O.P.

Bitterest of the Republican defeats was Michigan, where articulate Michigan State Professor Paul Bagwell (TIME cover, Oct. 24) made his second try at ending twelve years of labor-dominated Democratic rule. Across his state, Bagwell did better than Dick Nixon—but not well enough to overcome the Wayne County (Detroit) lead of U.A.W.-backed Lieutenant Governor John Swainson, a personable and legless war veteran, who ardently defended the record of outgoing Governor G. Mennen Williams.

Among the other winners:

☐ Cook County Judge Otto Kerner, hand-picked to run for Governor by Mayor Richard Daley's Democratic machine, won a smashing Illinois-wide victory. Many normally Republican newspapers endorsed him instead of plodding, scandal-plattered G.O.P. Incumbent William Stratton, trying for a third term against his own party's wishes.

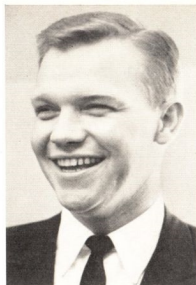
☐ In his campaign, persistent, oratorical Democrat William Guy, 41, an agricultural economist and sugar-beet grower, argued that after 16 years of Republican Governors, North Dakota was due for a change. The voters agreed. Crew-cut Billy Guy, who wants a state income tax to finance needed school expansion, was an easy winner over Lieutenant Governor Clarence P. Dahl, 68, a spry, folksy campaigner with an undistinguished record.

☐ The Kennedy sweep in Rhode Island pulled along in its wake lackluster Democrat John Anthony Notte Jr., 51, lieutenant governor in the regime of his predecessor and campaign opponent. Republican Governor Christopher Del Sesto, Said Del Sesto: "You can't fight a tidal wave."

☐ West Virginia Republicans tried hard to prove that homespun Democratic Attorney General Wallace Barron had bribed a rival to withdraw from this year's primary. They also ripped into Barron's record as liquor commissioner in the scandal-strewn regime (1953-57) of Democratic Governor William Marland. It was wasted effort; in a Democratic landslide, Barron easily whipped game G.O.P. Challenger Harold Neely, who had been in politics less than three years.

☐ Getting plenty of campaign help from the idol of Arizona conservatives, Senator Barry Goldwater, the state's cautious Republican Governor Paul Fannin overwhelmed energetic Phoenix Real Estate Millionaire Lee Ackerman to win his second term.

☐ Mild-mannered Republican Attorney General John Anderson Jr. campaigned through all but two of Kansas' 105 coun-



MICHIGAN GOVERNOR-ELECT SWAINSON
A record ardently defended.

ties this year to blast away at the tight budgets and free-and-easy prison paroles of ailing (bronchial condition) Democratic Governor George Docking, trying for his third term. Anderson's round-the-clock plugging paid off: he ran behind Richard Nixon, but well enough to toss Docking, a conservative banker from Lawrence, out of office.

☐ Husky (6 ft. 6 in., 251 lbs.) Conservative Elbert Nostrand Carvel, 50, a gladiatorial raconteur and an uncommonly shrewd politician, led the Democratic ticket in Delaware, won a second term as Governor (his first: 1949-53) from Republican John William Rollins, a wealthy Georgia-born wheeler-dealer (auto sales and rentals, TV stations).

☐ In Vermont, youthful (33) Republican Frank Ray Keyser Jr., speaker of the state house of representatives and a firm believer in tightly budgeted government, sailed to an easy victory over his Democratic opponent, State Senator Russell Niquette, 53.

☐ Liberal, reform-minded Democrat Matthew Welsh, a lawyer and veteran state legislator, bucked Indiana's strong Republican trend, won a stunning but ever-so-narrow personal victory over G.O.P. Lieutenant Governor Crawford Parker, a conservative small-town storekeeper.

☐ Across Maine, short-term Republican Incumbent (by virtue of his predecessor's death ten months ago) John Reed was not nearly so well known as his Democratic opponent, able Congressman Frank Coffin. Coffin had been the architect of his party's recent statewide revival. But Coffin lost in the Republican sweep. Said Surprise Victor Reed: "I can't believe it."

☐ The polls guessed that Incumbent Gaylord Anton Nelson, 44, a social-reforming liberal with an impressive first-term record, would clobber Milwaukee Republican Reactionary Philip Kuehn, 40, by at least 300,000 votes. In his state's unexpected Nixon tide, Nelson had to settle

for far, far less, yet became Wisconsin's first Democrat in this century to win two terms as Governor.

☐ In Iowa, Republican Attorney General Norman Erbe, a Lutheran and a conservative, handily defeated Democratic Lieutenant Governor Edward McManus, a Catholic and a liberal, thus succeeds Democratic, Protestant, conservative Governor Herschel Loveless.

☐ Washington's Democratic Incumbent Albert ("The Rose") Rosellini had the kind of rocky first-term record that would send many a Governor down to jolting defeat. But Old Pol Rosellini also has a slick-running machine. He trounced conservative Spokane Republican Lloyd Andrews, former superintendent of public instruction, headed for a scarcely warranted second term.

☐ A sizable bloc of Montana Democrats were privately (and some even publicly) rooting for conscientious Republican Donald Nutter in his campaign against pompous, erratic Democratic Lieutenant Governor Paul Cannon. Nutter won in a breeze.

☐ In the Deep South, where gubernatorial races are decided in the primaries, a quartet of Democrats rambled to predictably easy victories over Republican sacrificial lambs, Arkansas Segregationist Orval Faubus won an unprecedented (for his state) fourth term; North Carolina's brainy, boyish-looking Terry Sanford, who irritated many old-line Democrats by supporting John Kennedy before the party's national convention, won easily but got surprisingly strong opposition from lightly regarded Republican Challenger Robert T. Gavin. Florida's Farris Bryant, bright but segregationist, had no trouble in winning 5 to 3. In Texas, Conservative Price Daniel gave lukecold support to the Kennedy-Johnson ticket but had blazing hot support from the voters, who gave him a runaway third-term victory over Dallas Republican William Steger.

PUERTO RICO

Blow to the Bishops

The three Roman Catholic bishops of Puerto Rico got a stinging lesson: Puerto Rican voters held to the mainland U.S. view on separation of church and state. Though 90% Catholic, and warned by a pair of pastoral letters that supporting Governor Luis Muñoz Marín's Popular Democrats could lead to excommunication (TIME, Nov. 7), the voters gave well-liked Muñoz Marín 58% of the vote and a fourth straight term as Governor. Statehood Republican Candidate Luis Ferré trailed with 250,000 votes to 456,000 for Muñoz Marín. The church-backed Christian Action Party, on its first try for office, got only 51,000 votes—less than the 10% needed to remain a registered political party. Muñoz Marín, a shrewd old campaigner who aroused church ire by his approval of government birth-control programs, admitted that he might not have done so well if the church-state issue had not injected "dramatic pace" into the campaign.

WHO'S WHO IN THE STATEHOUSE

Promising Winners in Ten Key Races



FANNIN



REED



NUTTER



KERNER



ANDERSON

Arizona. The state's powerful legislature seldom allows any Governor to run up an impressive record, but the score card of Paul Fannin looks surprisingly good. Conservative Republican Fannin, a gas distributor from Phoenix, had never run for office when he was elected Governor two years ago, but since then he has acted like a political veteran. He pushed through a much needed sales tax earmarked for educational funds, revived a Good Neighbor policy toward the Mexican state of Sonora. His pet highway-safety program ranks among the nation's best.

Maine. Lanky, moderately liberal Republican John Hathaway Reed, 39, is as typical a "Down East" product as the Candler potatoes he grows. He talks with a twang, was a first-rate harness racer until his wife made him quit after he had a bad spill; now he drives a collection of antique Packards. Reed entered the state senate in 1957, and as senate president succeeded automatically to the governorship on the death of Democrat Clinton Clauson. His ten-month first term was lackluster; in his second he promises to improve state schools.

Montana. In Montana, where Senators are usually liberal Democrats, the Governor as often as not is a middle-of-the-road Republican. Plodding, unspectacular Donald Nutter, 44, seems to be a typical G.O.P. statehouse product. A war hero (B-24 piloting in the China theater) turned small-town tractor salesman, stocky, cigar-smoking Don Nutter served two workhorse terms in the state senate, in the process developed from a cautious reactionary to a conscientious, business-minded liberal with a host of friends and supporters throughout the state.

Illinois. Handsomely greying Democrat Otto Kerner, 52, whose father was once a popular state attorney general, is married to the daughter of Chicago's Mayor Anton Cermak (killed in Miami in 1933 by an assassin's bullet intended for Franklin Roosevelt). Kerner has an impressive six-year record of his own as a reform-minded Cook County (Chicago) judge who helped revamp local judicial procedures, led a successful fight to modernize state election statutes. His key campaign promises: more aid for schools, hospitals and depressed areas downstate.

Kansas. Shy, personable Republican John Anderson Jr., 43, prefers raising Shetland ponies to playing politics but has never lost an election. Anderson has been a topflight county attorney and state senator, has served for the past four years as attorney general under his election victim, Democratic Governor George Docking. Liberal by Kansas G.O.P. standards (he favors repeal of the state's right-to-work laws), Anderson had to beat out his party's choice for the nomination in a primary. Major campaign promise: more cash for state schools.

Delaware. As board chairman of a prosperous Maryland fertilizer company, conservative Democrat Elbert Nostrand Carvel, 50, has inevitably been the butt of some unprintable political jokes. As a campaigner, Republicans have learned, he is no laughing matter. Elected lieutenant governor in 1944, he won the state's top job four years later, and was best known for his school-building program. Farm-fancying Bert Carvel is a bland, high-pitched orator, but he is widely credited with having the shrewdest political brain among top Delaware Democrats.

Iowa. Norman Arthur Erbe, 41, is, by local reckoning, "a good old Iowa stubborn conservative." As state attorney general he has become well known as a corn-belt Comstock through his war against pornographic magazines. A massive (6 ft. 1 in., 215 lbs.) lawyer and an impressive speaker, Republican Erbe is the son of a Lutheran minister, a war hero (D.F.C., 35 combat missions over Europe as a B-17 pilot). He advocates a cut in property taxes, more state aid to schools (to be paid for out of the huge surplus), revival of the state highway program.

Rhode Island. The son of an Italian immigrant who operated a popular eatery in Lakewood, John Anthony Notte Jr., 51, was a college baseball star, a World War II naval officer in the Mediterranean and an up-from-the-wards politician who made good. A dapper, well-tailored gladiator, Democrat Notte has been so busy with his own long-range campaign for the governorship that his primary opponent accused him of neglecting his duties as lieutenant governor. A run-of-the-mill liberal, Notte is rated as a political bantamweight by neutrals and many Democrats.

Florida. Conservative Democrat C. (for Cecil) Farris Bryant, 46, is a prosperous Ocala lawyer who was twice voted the state's most valuable man by Florida's Junior Chamber of Commerce, was judged by reporters to be the state's best legislator during his five terms in the house of representatives (his fourth, as speaker). Prim and bookish, Bryant is a Harvard Law School graduate, won both this year's run-off primary and the election with a surefire (in the redneck counties where he ran best) campaign pledge: No integration in Florida schools.

Wisconsin. One of the disappointed hopefuls in the vice-presidential bingo game at the Democratic Convention, Governor Gaylord Anton Nelson, 44, may still look forward to a political future beyond the shores of Lake Michigan. A smooth public speaker (and a smoother raconteur in informal moments), the darling of organized labor and an unabashed liberal, he brought a program of sweeping social reforms and a crew-cut crew of intellectuals to Madison in 1958, will give Wisconsin a second chorus of the same music in his second term.



CARVEL



ERBE



NOTTE



BRYANT



NELSON

TELEVISION

The Vigil on the Screen

NBC's President Robert E. Kintner called his news staff together on election eve, gave them a rock 'em, roll 'em fight talk. "Men, you may think this election is a contest between Kennedy and Nixon," Coach Kintner thundered. "It's not. It's a race between NBC and CBS."

The networks' approach could not have been more clearly stated. From the conventions to the so-called Great Debates, the 1960 campaign had been televised, teleguided, teleprompted and telephoned as no other had been before; now the networks were out to cover the election with facts, and themselves with glory. CBS, specifically, was straining to regain the prestige it lost when NBC won a clear victory at the July conventions. It made a strong comeback. In fierce all-night competition, both top networks did superbly. ABC, with less manpower, moved along adequately, but could not hope to compete with the other two. To most viewers, however, what mattered in the end was that TV in general covered the election in thoroughgoing detail, swiftly and well.

Excitement & Hot Dogs. At home base, NBC packed typists, news analysts and executives into the arena-sized Studio 8-H in Manhattan's RCA Building. It organized seven political experts into a "Victory Desk" that decided the fate of states and the nation a jump ahead of the electorate. "We didn't want to call it a Concession Desk," said an NBC executive. "You know, like a hot-dog concession. But that's what it is: a hot-dog desk."

High above the chaos sat NBC Stars Chet Huntley and David Brinkley, seemingly lashed to a specially designed table that looked like two large boomerangs joined together. A dumb-waiter lifted hot food and hot poop up to them from below. Said Huntley: "We're on the quarter-deck of the mother ship."

The CBS news staff meanwhile had crammed itself into a smaller hold on 26th Street, where there was hardly enough room for its glamorous *Spielmeisters* to comb their hair. Office boys bustled about dressed up like nightclub waiters. The rest of NBC's first team—including Regional Reporters Sander Vanocur, Frank McGee, Merrill Mueller and, especially, John Chancellor was equally strong.

Supplementing their human talent, all three networks were using electronic brains: ABC was back again with Univac; NBC had something called the RCA 501; CBS had turned to the IBM 7090. CBS and ABC got off to an erratic start, on the basis of too-early returns, with their brains predicting a Nixon victory all the way. But by 8:30 p.m. (E.S.T.), NBC's 501 had given the presidency to Kennedy; Univac and IBM 7090 rapidly got on the electronic bandwagon and all three remained in close agreement thereafter though sometimes oscillating wildly; at one point NBC's computer leaped from odds of 333-to-1 for Kennedy down to 6-to-1 for Kennedy, then back to 333-to-1. Eventually the machines seemed an

almost human part of the election coverage. Said Brinkley at one point: "Our 501 has just had its 2 o'clock feeding of warm election statistics." But from the start, CBS managed to give its coverage a more exciting tone. Anchor Man Walter Cronkite read even early returns in momentous tones, and for a single, steady, unfruffled and well-organized performance, he was unbeaten all night. The familiar CBS supporting crew—Eric Sevareid, Douglas Edwards, Charles Collingwood, *et al.*, were smooth, quick and, in the case of Nancy Hanschman, pretty. Conspicuously missing: CBS Oracle Edward R. Murrow bedded down with pneumonia, possibly complicated by a slight case of disgruntlement over the you-be-Brinkley treatment he received during the conventions.

Men & Mochines. In contrast to the fast, excited CBS style, NBC's Huntley and Brinkley continued their trademarked

debonair as fatigue mounted all about him. CBS finally quit at 7 a.m., continuing spot coverage an hour later, while NBC stuck it out until 7:30. By then, Brinkley grandly and unilaterally announced Kennedy's election ("NBC has just awarded him California"), and Dave Garroway, NBC's regular morning glory, took over.

In a sense, the show had been an anti-climax; during nearly twelve hours of figures, Kennedy was seen not at all and Nixon only briefly. And yet, with its incomparable immediacy, TV not only gave the main stream of the returns as it widened between Democratic hope and Republican discouragement, but caught many of the better footnotes to the 1960 election.

In Hollywood the cameras picked up Republican Cinemactor Cesar Romero, a greying panther stalking among the dejected at Nixon headquarters. In a poignant



NBC STUDIO: HUNTLEY & BRINKLEY, UPPER RIGHT
To the end, teleguided, teleprompted and telephoned.

Tommy Weber

approach of relaxed irony about what Brinkley called the "exquisite agony" of it all. At first that mood seemed less well suited to the running election story than it had been to the long-drawn-out, often dull spectacle of the conventions. But as the evening wore on, the Huntley-Brinkley atmosphere proved a tonic for the small hours. When one of the first Democratic state victories became obvious, Brinkley remarked wryly: "Suburban areas are supposed to go Republican as soon as they can afford power lawn mowers. This obviously is not the case in Connecticut." On the whole, though, the incessant business of reporting figures—a chore at which NBC was consistently if narrowly ahead of CBS—left Brinkley little room for humorous Brinkmanship.

Main Stream & Footnotes. With impressive endurance, both network staffs clung to the story through dawn and into daylight, remaining well made up and coherent, with Cronkite growing ever more

and cliché from Washington, ABC showed rows of empty chairs at Republican National Headquarters. Republican National Committee Chairman Thruston B. Morton made appearances on both NBC and CBS, recklessly and gloriously told the U.S. at midnight that the Republicans really had it in the Western bag.

Anxious to be the first to see Nixon in defeat, NBC switched to Los Angeles' Ambassador, planted Herb Kaplow in the Vice President's path ten minutes too early, and Kaplow stood there ad-libbing about everything from Nixon's pre-convention campaign to the January inaugural. When the Nixons finally appeared, both networks closed in on a TV sight not soon to be forgotten—Pat Nixon, her face a portrait of distress almost under control, struggling hopelessly to do the smiling job her husband was accomplishing with ease, showing a trace of terror when the unsolemn crowd interrupted Nixon to shout: "We want Pat."



HUBERT HUMPHREY: Feb. 1

"The Humphrey pace would have put a less euphoric man in the hospital. . . . At every stop there were speeches, dinners, press conferences, strategy meetings. He was almost always in motion."

PAT NIXON: Feb. 29

"The busy week began in Detroit with a grueling, 17-hour marathon of receptions, press conferences, speeches and ceremonial meals (in the course of the day, she shook 3,650 hands). . . . A few days of such staggering activity would put many a woman in a rest home or bore her to tears, but Pat Nixon seems to thrive on it."



LYNDON JOHNSON: April 25

"He hadn't done much campaigning outside of Texas, to be sure, but the first order of business, according to the Johnson master plan, was to stick to his Senate job, building and improving his legislative record and displaying the public image of Lyndon Johnson, the steadfast statesman, while other candidates battled through the primaries."

THE KENNEDY FAMILY: July 11

"Like every other major politician Candidate Kennedy has a chorus of voices talking for him. . . . But Jack Kennedy's presidential campaign, indeed his whole political life, has a quality rare in U. S. political history. He speaks with the voice of the remarkable Kennedy family."



LYNDON JOHNSON: July 18

"Just when Jack Kennedy had confidently settled back to polish his nomination-acceptance speech for delivery at Los Angeles, Lyndon Baines Johnson had saddled up and set off in grim pursuit of the rolling Kennedy bandwagon."

ROCKEFELLER & NIXON: Aug. 1

"From that meeting emerged a history-making document, a Rockefeller-Nixon policy agreement, soon dubbed the Treaty of Fifth Avenue, that changed the course of the Republican Party for the 1960s, and perhaps beyond."



SMITH v. CORMIER: Sept. 5

"Nov. 8 will very likely go down in history as Ladies' Day, with women voters outnumbering men for the first time in any peacetime presidential election. . . . In many areas, a feminine candidate is a required entry on any well-balanced ticket, and across the land more bonnets than ever before are in the political ring."

LODGE: Sept. 26

"The roars at Skokie, Illinois, toward the end of Lodge's first full week of campaigning, however, were the kind that a vice-presidential candidate rarely gets. The extent of Cabot Lodge's popularity with the U. S. public is the greatest surprise of the campaign so far."



ROBERT KENNEDY: Oct. 10

"For a year his thoughts, passions and supercharged energies have been directed toward one goal: to get his brother Jack elected President of the U. S. . . . He has an abhorrence of laziness, works like a stevedore himself and demands the same kind of dedicated performance of his workers."

PAUL BAGWELL: Oct. 24

"The candidates are attractive, the issues are sharp, and Michigan's election shapes up as 1960's hottest state race. The professor (Bagwell) has injected fresh spirit and purpose into the Republican Party in a key state."



This special issue of TIME reports the final hours, and the outcome, of the election race — the story of what happened at the polls this November 8th. But these pages also mark the end of a longer story — the full, colorful story of the campaign as it has unfolded in TIME throughout the year. For, in twelve cover stories, in scores of special weekly reports, TIME's readers in 121 countries have followed this dramatic campaign down to the final rally, the last hurrah.

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Oct. 31 Issue



Nov. 7 Issue

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